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TRENDS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

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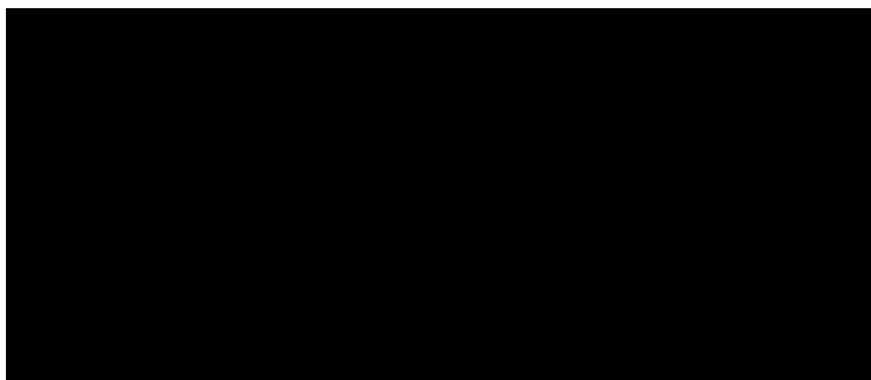
# TRENDS

*in Communist Propaganda*

S U P P L E M E N T

PROPAGANDA REFLECTS DRV RESUMPTION OF NORMAL PARTY, GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF VWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SINCE 1965  
SCHEDULING OF FIRST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS SINCE 1964  
PLANS FOR THIRD CONGRESS OF VIETNAM FATHERLAND FRONT



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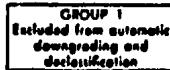
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PROPAGANDA REFLECTS DRV RESUMPTION  
OF NORMAL PARTY, GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES

Recent Hanoi propaganda has reflected major steps in the DRV's return to normal procedures abandoned following the beginning of U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam in February 1965.

On 1 February Hanoi media revealed that the Vietnam Workers Party (VWP) Central Committee had held its 19th plenary session and released a communique. The last plenum that was announced in this formal fashion with the release of a communique was the 10th in December 1964. The 11th and 12th plenums in August and December 1965 were announced long after the fact in both instances, and no plenum documents were released. Hanoi media are not known to have even mentioned the 13th through the 18th plenums. A factor in the decision to formally announce the 19th may have been the use of its decisions as focal points of major propaganda campaigns relating to the DRV economy and mobilization of the populace for continuation of the war.

On 10 February Hanoi media announced that the National Assembly Standing Committee had adopted a decision to hold elections on 11 April to select deputies to the Fourth Legislature of the National Assembly. The regular four-year term of the Third Legislature expired in the spring of 1968, when elections normally would have been held, but in May of that year the term was extended indefinitely. Propaganda surrounding the announcement of the elections explains that they were not held in 1968 because U.S. bombing of the North had become "very fierce that year." The question remains, however, why Hanoi waited almost two and a half years after the November 1968 U.S. bombing halt. One factor mentioned in the propaganda is that the situation in South Vietnam has undergone many changes with the advent and consolidation of the PRG, which now "represents" the South Vietnamese people. But the primary reason may be the pragmatic one, also suggested in the propaganda, that a more capable and vigorous legislative body is deemed necessary to improve the government machinery.

Hanoi media reported on 12 March that the Vietnam Fatherland Front (VFF) Central Committee had held its 21st enlarged session and decided to convene the third VFF congress some time in 1971. The propaganda pointed out that the second

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congress was held 10 years ago and that the many changes since then necessitate a new one.

#### FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF VWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SINCE 1965

The communique on the 19th plenary session of the VWP Central Committee, released in Hanoi media on 1 February, did not specify the dates on which it had been held.\* According to the communique, the purpose of the plenum was to discuss and decide on "the tasks of the resistance against U.S. aggression . . . , the stepping up of economic activities, and the strengthening of socialism in the North." Noting that reports were heard on the anti-U.S. resistance, on the orientation for agricultural development, and on future economic tasks, the communique called for "new efforts" by the party, people, and army, saying that "all the forces of the Vietnamese nation must be mobilized." Propaganda since the 1 February announcement has repeatedly referred to the communique and to resolutions adopted by the plenum, although no texts of resolutions have been released.

Discussing the war in standard terms, the communique scored U.S. "escalation," Vietnamization, and alleged obstruction of the Paris talks. And it pledged to "act upon President Ho's sacred testament" and persevere in the struggle. NHAN DAN's 2 February editorial on the plenum quoted from First Secretary Le Duan's February 1970 article--on the party's 40th anniversary--to underline the importance of the war: The fight against the Americans is "an imperative demand of the revolution in Vietnam and the world and of our present life and is needed for the happiness of our descendants in future generations . . . . Whatever sacrifices and hardships we may have to endure and no matter how fierce and protracted the war may be, we are determined to fulfill the glorious mission entrusted to us by history."

The communique's discussion of domestic goals was also along standard lines. The DRV's basic economic line spelled out by Le Duan in his February 1970 article was echoed in the

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\* The last previous formal announcements of plenums--the 9th and 10th, held in December 1963 and 1964, respectively--were made in each case a month after the event.

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communiqué's declaration "we must give priority to the development of heavy industry in a rational way, on the basis of the development of agricultural and light industry, and build the economy at the central level along with developing the regional economy."

The communiqué also set forth goals that have been given prominence in the propaganda during the past two years--more consumer goods, more goods for export, stabilization of the market, and mobilization of labor forces. In its standard discussion of agriculture, the communiqué urged an improvement in cooperative management, better production of fertilizers, and the building of more irrigation works. It also stipulated a need to "create new possibilities for an all-round development of agriculture, for an intensive cultivation, for the specialization of crops, and for large-scale production."

Presumably reflecting some of the issues discussed at the plenum, the 2 February NHAN DAN editorial took note of a number of longstanding "difficulties" and "shortcomings" in the economy. It said that production has been unable to satisfy needs: Manpower, materials, and capital have been wasted, and labor output and economic efficiency are still low. It ascribed these deficiencies to "objective long-range causes"--such as the war and the country's backward and poor economy--as well as to "subjective short-range causes." Discussing the latter category, it stated:

Our determination to fight on the economic front and our socialist consciousness are not high.  
Our economy is still poorly managed. Our socialist legality has not been strengthened properly.  
There are many signs indicating that the party-building task has not been closely linked with the immediate economic and political tasks.

The communiqué called for strengthening of "the leadership and guidance in practice of the party committees at various levels and of all party organizations, improvement of the economic management of the state organs, and an increase in the fighting will and working capabilities of all cadres and party members."

Both the communiqué and the NHAN DAN editorial noted routinely that the "struggle" continues between the "two paths"--of socialism and capitalism. Both dealt with this struggle in

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terms of a need to develop or reform the economy, and neither raised the issue of repression of counterrevolutionaries. Thus, the propaganda on the plenum is consistent with the line taken by Le Duan in his February 1970 article when he dwelt on the problems of organizing and building the economy and warned against preoccupation with suppression of opponents of the proletariat--a preoccupation that had seemed to be reflected, for example, in Truong Chinh's August 1968 Marx anniversary report.\*

PRESS ARTICLES ON  
PARTY ANNIVERSARY

The 41st anniversary of the Vietnam Workers Party was marked routinely with editorials in NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on 3 February. Hanoi radio noted that the papers published special editions with frontpage editorials. Issuing the standard exhortation for all cadres and party members to continue their learning and studies, NHAN DAN said that "first of all, all organs of the party and all party members must learn and study the resolutions of the 19th VWP plenary meeting," as well as "important statements of comrade leaders of the party and the resolutions of the Politburo on the party's tasks." QUAN DOI NHAN DAN noted that a resolution of the Central Committee's 19th plenum pointed out "that the duty of our entire party and all our people and armed forces is to strive to implement President Ho's sacred testament, persist in and step up the resistance, heighten our determination to fight and win, and advance toward winning total victory." Calling the party "the great staff of the revolution," the editorial asserted that at the present phase of the struggle "the most important requirement is to strengthen party leadership and to build and develop the party so that it becomes very strong." It went on to cite Le Duan's February 1970 article for the dictum that the factor determining every victory is the leadership of the party.

SCHEDULING OF FIRST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS SINCE 1964

Hanoi's announcement that elections of deputies to the National Assembly's Fourth Legislature would be held on 11 April took the form of an Assembly Standing Committee resolution, released

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\* Le Duan's handling of these problems is discussed in FBIS Special Report No. 301 of 7 August 1970, "North Vietnamese Problems and Policies as Outlined in Le Duan's February 1970 Article."

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on 10 February along with a list of the members of an election council. Both documents, dated 8 February, were signed by Standing Committee Chairman Truong Chinh. The day before, Hanoi media reported that the National Assembly Standing Committee had held an ordinary session, chaired by Truong Chinh, and had, among other things, "decided on a number of problems concerning the future work of the National Assembly." The resolution stated that a total of 420 deputies would be elected from 80 constituencies--an increase from 366 deputies elected from 59 constituencies in 1964. A list of the constituencies and the number of deputies to be elected from each one appeared in the Hanoi press on the 16th.

Propaganda heralding the elections generally mentions the extension of the Third Legislature's term in 1968, an action which the DRV constitution stipulates can be taken under extraordinary conditions such as war. A detailed discussion appeared in a 25 February NHAN DAN article by Secretary General of the Assembly Standing Committee Ton Quang Phiet--carried in part by VNA that day and broadcast by Hanoi radio on 2 March--which observed that the term was extended in 1968 because the U.S. "war of destruction against the North became very fierce that year." In declaring that "there are now sufficient conditions for our National Assembly Standing Committee to organize the elections," Phiet observed that the revolution in South Vietnam has undergone many changes and won "great victories" and that the PRG has been set up and recognized by more than 20 governments. While Phiet's reference to the PRG might have been calculated to explain why the elections were not held in April 1969 in the wake of the November 1968 halt in U.S. bombing of the North, it leaves unexplained why they were not held in April 1970--almost a year after the establishment of the PRG in June 1969. One consideration in the decision not to hold them then may have been the preoccupation of the leadership with developing policy goals and guidelines in the period following Ho's death in September 1969.

Practical reasons for holding the elections now--such as replacement of deceased or inactive deputies--were suggested in a 13 February NHAN DAN article by Assembly Standing Committee Secretary Tran Dinh Tri. Observing that the "entire country" was still at war, Tri said: "yet our party's Political Bureau has realized that in the current situation we need and are able to organize elections for the Fourth National Assembly" in order

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to foster a return to normalcy. He also noted the importance of the deputies' role in rallying and motivating the masses.

A NHAN DAN editorial on 10 February said that the elections would "certainly further consolidate our people's democratic dictatorship" and "mobilize the people and army to completely defeat the United States and advance the socialist undertaking in the North." The editorial also claimed that the elections would "enhance our country's prestige in the international arena," and it called for the election of a National Assembly "to defeat the U.S. aggressors, one that will reflect the strength of socialism and the advance of our society."

SEVEN SESSIONS OF  
THIRD LEGISLATURE

The Third National Assembly was elected for the usual four-year term in 1964, and the first session of the Assembly was held in July of that year. Normally there are two sessions each year. But the second session in April 1965 authorized the Assembly Standing Committee to convene the legislature "when convenient" if the regular semiannual sessions could not be held as required in the constitution. A number of rights and duties normally exercised by the Assembly were also delegated to the Standing Committee. The third session was not held until April 1966, and there was no session in 1967. The Third National Assembly's term expired in 1968, but the fourth Assembly session held in May that year extended its term indefinitely. The fifth session of the Assembly was held on 23 September 1969 to elect new DRV state leaders following Ho's death earlier that month. The sixth session was held in early June 1970.\*

Hanoi media announced on 5 March that the seventh session of the Third National Assembly had been held 2-4 March. Following standard practice, the Assembly heard opening and closing remarks by Truong Chinh, Premier Pham Van Dong's presentation of the Council of Ministers' political report\*\*--carried in

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\* See the Supplement to the TRENDS of 12 June 1970, "Hanoi Propaganda on Sixth Session of the DRV National Assembly."

\*\* See the TRENDS of 10 March, pages 6-7, for a discussion of the portion of Dong's report dealing with the war and an account of a National Assembly statement on the Indochina situation.

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full by VNA on the 5th--and supplemental reports by Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap on the military situation and by the People's Supreme Court and People's Supreme Procurate. The initial VNA account of the session, on the 5th, reported that the Assembly re-elected Pham Van Bach president of the People's Supreme Court and Hoang Quoc Viet president of the People's Supreme Procurate.

TERMS OF DEPUTIES ELECTED BY SOUTHERNERS IN 1946 TO END According to a communique on the session broadcast on the 6th, other business included approval of a resolution on the government's political report; approval of the decisions taken by the Assembly Standing Committee since the sixth session in June; and the decision that with the demise of the Third National Assembly the terms of those Assembly deputies who were elected in 1946 by the South Vietnamese people would be ended.

On the 5th Hanoi radio carried a report on the question of the deputies from South Vietnam which had been delivered at the session by Ton Quang Phiet, Secretary General of the National Assembly Standing Committee. The report recalled that in December 1959 the 11th session of the First National Assembly had decided to extend the terms of deputies elected by the people of the South on 6 January 1946, "pending a new resolution." Asserting that this move had had a great positive effect on the revolution, the report went on to explain that the current decision on expiration of these deputies' tenure was taken because the situation had markedly changed with the advent of the PRG and its advisory council in June 1969.

The report recalled that the National Assembly Standing Committee had issued a statement on 12 June 1969 which said, among other things, that the congress which established the PRG reflected "the fullest and most satisfactory representative nature as far as the South Vietnamese people are concerned." The report added that the PRG has now been recognized by more than 20 governments, that it is one of the four parties attending the Paris talks on Vietnam, and that it has officially established its representation in Hanoi.

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## PLANS FOR THIRD CONGRESS OF VIETNAM FATHERLAND FRONT

Hanoi media on 12 March reported that the Vietnam Fatherland Front Central Committee had held its 21st enlarged session on 5 and 6 March, under the chairmanship of President Ton Duc Thang, and decided to convene the third congress of the Front some time in 1971. Hanoi radio, in announcing that the session passed a resolution to this effect and set up a preparatory committee headed by Hoang Quoc Viet, observed that 10 years had elapsed since the second congress in 1961, with many important changes having occurred in the international and domestic situations.\* A broadcast on the 12th said it is necessary to hold the congress to demonstrate the unity of the various political parties, mass organizations, and various strata of the people in the Fatherland Front, and to manifest the determination "of all our people and armed forces" to carry out their new tasks and implement "the resolution adopted by the 19th VWP Central Committee plenum." The broadcast added that the congress "offers an opportunity to extensively carry out political motivation among all our people" and that it is necessary for various echelons of the Front's committees to review their work and improve their working methods and organization.

As at the last two previous enlarged Front sessions, the Front Central Committee Presidium's political report was presented by Tran Dang Khoa.\*\* In addition to a special report on the holding of the Front's third congress, read by Tran Huu Duyet, Secretary General of the Front Central Committee, there were reports on the military situation by a VPA representative and on the forthcoming elections of the National Assembly's Fourth Legislature and of people's councils.

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\* The Vietnam Fatherland Front's constitution adopted in September 1955 says that the congress selects the Central Committee of the Front, which in turn elects the president, vice president, and governing organs of the Front.

\*\* In recent years the VFF Central Committee has held enlarged sessions semiannually, in the spring and fall. The 20th enlarged session was held from 7 to 9 September, during which time a special meeting was held to mark the 15th anniversary of the VFF. See the 16 September 1970 TRENDS, pages 1-4.

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